/252 cont./

infinite art of gaining trust would be necessary in order to collect such testimony suitably. But what fruit the "confession" of the fettered one of the Tamejlocht or of the hoe depositer of Tamd'a Ugenni would be!

What to say about customs like the one of the seasonal carnival such as I was able to observe October 7, 1949, at Ikis, an archaic village rising in tiers on the flank of the Tanddri, and which its agadir dominated? Here are some notes taken on the spot.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ "In all the Seksawa villages, the first two days of the Aid are taken up with Saturnalia. The skins of sacrificed animals are donned. They are sewed as clown costumes with pantaloons (1),

1. And not as robes, as in the masquerade of the tanners of Fès /Fez/.

and put on by a few agile and resolute chaps. Throughout the day, there are parades, exhibitions, playlets, capers, the whole put to rhythm by the tambourin and coming back constantly to the dance, a dance of stamping with scansion on the palms of the hands (2).

2. The Andalusian zapateado is evoked. Nothing is more curious than to compare, without any preconceived ideas, certain disguises of the Gund'afa, for example, from the fine photographs by Besancenot, and the drawings of masks that Caro Baroja gives in his book Pueblos de España, 1946.

"On this day at Ikis, I am on a terrace overlooking from a height of six floors the bottom of the valley and its small parcels. To the left, the agadir, overwhelmed by the enormous crest of

1: Berque--648 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

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Faces of Seksawa men

/The complete caption for Pl. IV is given on p. 649./

341
342 Plate III. The house.

343 (1) Group of "houses at a height" at Z'init'. They are
353 joined. Each independent exit represents the existence of a
361 tigemmi, residence of a "conjugal family," takat. Courtyards,
414 loggias, skillful technique of pointing stone with clay, life of terraces; (2) the "loggia," asqqif, supporting columns in wood, tannalt, with a curiously Doric capital, a talzzazt; (3) corbeils, issknan, for keeping fruit, vegetables, or seeds; (4) a door, tiflut, with "hole for opening inside," timit or anqfer; (5) the lock-padlock, ajakan, and its key, tasarut. The ensemble of the closing is called lqfel; (6) interior of ground floor at Iguntar. The door of the stable, agrur, opens at the back. By way of the interior stairway, taskila, rather rare, one has access to the rooms of habitation, imeqray.

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291 Plate IV: Faces of Seksawa men.

302 (1) The amghar ᶜOmar u Ali, of the a. Lh'sen, grandson of
516 the caid Lmokhtar; (2) the amghar Ali Chtittihi, of the a. Musa;
533 (3) the amghar Wakrim u Lh'ajj Hfid', of the Idma; (4) the
554 amghar Lh'sen u Abdesselam, of the a. Mh'and. These first four
613 personages are directly linked with those who occupied the front
634 of the stage at the time of the penetration. They are important
534 ikhs chiefs: (5) the moqaddem u Idder, chief of the foqra of Lalla
535 Aziza; (6) the moqaddem Myyah'i, chief of the igurramen of Ammern, and tambourin player; (7) young men taking part in the ah'wach chorus. Note the positions of the hands, originating from a very complicated dance ritual; (8) the spectators.

/190 cont./

*634 They settled a certain number of their new friends in their vil-
616 lages, giving them, as is the custom, provisions and livestock.
722 These strangers lived at first in peace in the "taqbilt" that had adopted them; but soon the reaction of the nearby fractions of the same leff against this forgetting of the rules of the alliance became so strong that it was necessary to make them leave the country in order to avoid war. They were quartered first in the lower villages of the valley, in Tamsoult and Tanammert; then, in 1899, they were definitively expelled from the canton of the Iwonsekten.

616 V. The leffs during peace. -- The leffs are not solely sys-
574 tems of military alliances. Each year at the end of the summer
*634 there are given among neighboring "taqbilt" big feasts that con-
628 tribute toward maintaining the feeling of the fraternity of the leffs. These are the "tinoubga" (1).

1. From the Berbère /Berber/ "anebgi": host.

About 50 warriors, armed and designated by the "moqaddem," leave the tribe in order to carry out a great circuit of hospitality among the sister republics; they take along some provisions of sugar and sheep. Their /191/ brothers of the neighboring republics, in welcoming them, tell them, after the first evening: "You have in the tribe 15 days of tinoubga, see with us what villages we shall visit." Then the feasts begin and succeed one another from hamlet to hamlet, according to the program agreed upon. Above
616 all they execute the war dance of the "Aït Tskawin" in which
574 figure about 15 young men dressed in a full tunic of white cotton
*634 and who carry on their shoulder a silver powder-horn called
628 "tiskt" (plur. teskawin). They group themselves in a circle
• 535 around a "reis" and execute a sort of rhythmic parade, whose figures differ very much from those of the other dances of the tribe. The horn carried by each of the dancers is an object carefully preserved in each family, and it is often forbidden to sell it; it

/191 cont./

616 is handed down from father to son. The "Ait Teskawin" never
574 dance while mingling with the other warriors of the tribe, but
*634 they stay around their "reis," who animates them with songs in
628 which he celebrates the military records of his leff (1).
•535
[533]

1. The opposite of the dance of the "Teskawin," the "ahwach" and the "assega," are pacific dances that above all have the aim of permitting men, women, and girls to gather together and exchange, through transparent allusions, epigrams in which love takes first place.

[184] The tradition of the "Teskawin" is still preserved among the
[178] populations of the high valleys, where independence has enabled people to respect up to these last years the institutions of former times. The Aghbar, the Seksawa, the Ida ou Mhamoud, the isolated "taqbilt" of the high mountains of the Gedmiwa keep it as a symbol and are attached to it with the feeling that it expresses their fidelity to the leff alliances.

616 The "Tinoubga" become the origin of many private associa-
574 tions, of alliances of families, and of marriages. Indeed, each
584 one looks for a wife, preferably in his own leff, although it is not
571 without precedent to see families of two opposing parties unite;
582 in that case, it can happen that a man might be led to taking up arms against his son-in-law or his grandchildren, for the leff outweighs private alliances.

616 Among the cantons of the same leff -- those of the high
*634 mountains and those of the Dir -- are also established economic
311 relations of great importance. In the former are found rich /192/
241 summer pastures, harvests of walnuts, wool in abundance, but
233 barley and maize are lacking, for land is scarce in the encased valleys. On the other hand, the cantons of the Dir have at their feet enormous areas that can be cultivated in "bour" as well as irrigated fields, but the flocks cannot exist in the plain in the

/233 cont./

*634 addressed to women who are picking up wood at the boundaries
578 of the country, pasture dispute, theft in a souk /sook/, suffice
726 to revive the memory of ancient discords and to draw up, for
628 several years, the "Indghertit" against the "Imsifern," the "Aït Atman" against the "Aït Iraten." Besides, the combats are not murderous. The warriors betake themselves to a place consecrated by tradition for the settling of disputes, and they exchange
*634 shots indefinitely. It is exceptional that a powerful alliance
578 would succeed in suddenly defeating an enemy republic; in that
628 case, a village is destroyed, but the women and children are al-
727 ways spared. When success crowns the efforts of the assailants, everyone rushes to the pillage. The love of booty was enough,
[181] at the time of the Almohades, to carry along all the tribes of the Haut-Atlas to the conquest of Morocco; to see this passion of the Berbère /Berber/ for pillage being exercised, one understands the violence of the efforts that he can supply to satisfy it, and the advantage that a clever chief can draw from it.

*634 IX. The festivities and the dances. -- Ceaselessly led to
571 react against the internal divisions by calling on the bonds of
578 brotherhood, /234/ the families associated to form an independ-
182 ent "taqbilt" try in all circumstances, doubtless unknown to
796 them, to recreate unity by means of collective ceremonies: "tinoubga," dances, religious and traditional festivities, annual mousem. The social utility of these rejoicings appears all the more as one penetrates further into the social life of these small groups perpetually threatened with scission, and one understands that attendance at these festivities often takes on an obligatory and ritualistic character (1).

1. In certain fractions the notables hold the list of the girls who dance and can be summoned at the time of tribal festivities.

621 Within the "mouda^{c}," each festival of the year, "^{c}Aïd es Seghir,"
632 "^{c}Aïd el Kebir," "^{c}Achoura," as well as marriages or
*634
796
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621 /234 cont./
632 circumcisions are the occasion for rejoicings, which last each
*634 time for several days, and in which first place is given to
796 nocturnal dances (2).
535

2. Sitte und Recht /Custom and Law/, pp. 10-15.

[834] The "ahwach," the "tahwacht," the "assega," such are the dances that throughout the mountains put the young men and the women and girls in each other's presence in two opposite ranks.

796 The spectacle of these festivities is one of the most attrac-
53 tive in Berbère /Berber/ country. In the middle of each of the ranks are found the poets, the "reis en ndam," who improvise. The dancers, closely serried, shoulder to shoulder, begin with an invocation to God, then sing the lines of the poet in chorus, in a little musical phrase repeated indefinitely. Each line is taken up again and repeated by the two ranks until the moment when its answer is found; the rhythm is given by two tambourines, by the clapping of hands, a regular balancing of the body, and the noise of the heels, which strike the ground in cadence. As long as the poets wish, the song is prolonged, taken up again by the two choruses. Little by little the rhythm accelerates, the hand clapping is accelerated on the theme of the last line; for a few minutes bodies move in a frenetic, but perfectly cadenced dance; then suddenly, without a signal, the "ahwach" stops in the greatest silence.

Each poem is sung and danced for about a quarter of an hour; a few minutes of rest, the performance begins again and continues for long hours.

Most often the "ahwach" and especially the "assega" begin /235/ after sunset, on the stone threshing-floors, by the light of big fires over which the "reis" come to stretch the skins of their [361] tambourines. The village plaza, surrounded by secular walnut trees, lends its cadre to the festival. Around the two ranks of dancers the whole "taqbilt" is gathered, eyes fixed on the strongest